

The background of the cover is a photograph of the entrance to the Supreme Court of Missouri. It features a large, ornate wooden double door with decorative glass inserts and metal studs. Above the door is a stone archway with the words "SUPREME COURT OF MISSOURI" inscribed on it. The top of the image shows a classical pediment with a central face sculpture and floral carvings. A large, semi-transparent teal arch is overlaid on the image, framing the title text.

MISSOURI VEHICLE STOPS 2025 ANNUAL REPORT

MISSOURI ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE



Missouri Vehicle Stops 2025 Annual Report

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CATHERINE HANAWAY SERVES AS MISSOURI'S 45TH ATTORNEY GENERAL



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As the chief lawyer for the State of Missouri, it is my job to advance public safety, safeguard Missourians from abuse and fraud, and ensure that government remains transparent and accountable to the six million citizens we serve.

The office of the Missouri Attorney General is required by law to collect data on the demographics of traffic stops made by law enforcement officers across the state and to report these findings to the Governor and the public. Importantly, this data can help government and law enforcement determine any issues with variations related to stops and searches.

This report aggregates the traffic stops data from 560 law enforcement agencies

across the state, breaking down the data as it relates to race, the number of stops, the search rate, contraband hit rate, and arrest rates. We remain committed to continue improving the report so it serves the public interest with clarity, accuracy, and accessibility.

Our goal is to balance the rights of all citizens with the enforcement of the rule of law and to support the brave men and women of law enforcement who put their lives on the line every day. Through rigorous data collection, transparent reporting, and a shared commitment to lawful conduct, Missouri can advance both liberty and safety for every community in our state.

BACKGROUND

Concerns by the citizens of Missouri and the Missouri legislature regarding allegations of bias in traffic enforcement prompted the passage of SB 1053 (2000). SB 1053 created Section 590.650, RSMo, which became effective August 28, 2000. This statute created the Vehicle Stops Report and required that the Attorney General's Office (AGO) collect and report on traffic stops conducted by law enforcement officers across the state of Missouri.

Under § 590.650, RSMo, all peace officers in the state must report specific information, including a driver's race, for each vehicle stop made in the state. Law enforcement agencies must provide their vehicle stops data to the Attorney General by March 1, and the Attorney General must compile the data and report to the Governor, General Assembly, and each law enforcement agency no later than June 1 of each year. The law allows the Governor to withhold state funds for any agency that does not submit its vehicle stops data to the Attorney General by the statutory deadline.

After reviewing analysis of the Vehicle Stops Report (VSR) and conferring with law enforcement leaders

across the state in 2019, the Attorney General's Office began implementing comprehensive changes to the VSR. These changes improved the information collected for the report while allowing for a fundamental shift in the level of analysis possible through the VSR. Three new questions have been added to the report that collect information on officer assignment during the stop, the residential zip code of the stopped driver, and the cause of citations and/or warnings issued to the driver. In addition, other questions have been adjusted for clarity or to improve the value of the data they collect by adding new response options.

Additional improvements to the VSR may become feasible as more agencies report detailed incident-level data on traffic stops. Currently, most agencies only report the aggregate numbers of stops meeting the criteria for each question broken down only by the race and ethnicity of the individual involved in the stop. This reporting framework prevents more in-depth analyses that take into consideration other factors such as driver age, driver sex, and time of stop. Multi-variate analysis of incident-level data will significantly improve the informational content

of the VSR. The AGO has implemented an optional data reporting framework that collects detailed information for each stop an agency made during the year, rather than just totals by race for each agency. These changes became effective January 2020 and implementation efforts across the state are ongoing.

The aggregate data reported in the VSR provides a detailed comparison of differences in stops and outcomes of stops by race and ethnicity, for the state overall and for each agency. The VSR also reports relevant population data and calculates stop rates for the purpose of comparing differences by race and ethnicity relative to population, for the state and for each agency.

The summary of statewide vehicle stops data has been provided by a team of researchers in the Economic and Policy Analysis Center (EPARC) at the University of Missouri in Columbia. The team is led by Dr. Brittany Street, Assistant Professor of Economics and Associate Director of EPARC; other team members include Dr. Jeffrey Milyo, Professor and Director of EPARC, and Dr. Tabitha Chikhladze, Assistant Teaching Professor.

STATEWIDE METRICS

This report summarizes traffic stop data from 560 law enforcement agencies in Missouri that reported data for calendar year 2025. Of these, 23 agencies reported no traffic stops during the year; these agencies often contract out traffic enforcement to another agency covering their jurisdictions and focus on other enforcement activities.¹ In total, this report represents 95% of the 592 active law enforcement agencies in the state. The statewide data described in this section are also presented in the same manner for each agency in the attached agency reports.



¹Agencies with zero stops include: BNSF Railway Police, Butterfield Police Dept, Cameron Schools Police Dept, Clark Police Dept, Crystal Lakes Police Dept, Delta Police Dept, East Lynne Police Dept, Edina Police Dept, Green City School District Police Dept, Henrietta Police Dept, Jackson County Drug Task Force, Keytesville Police Dept, King City Police Dept, Logan-Rogersville School Police Dept, Metropolitan Community College Police Dept, Missouri Division of Alcohol & Tobacco Control, New Franklin Police Dept, Nixa Schools Police Dept, Reeds Spring Police Dept, Riverview Police Dept, Springfield School Police, St. Charles Community College Police Dept, St. Louis Community College Police Dept.



STATEWIDE METRICS CONTINUED

The 2025 VSR can be viewed as representing the new equilibrium after many years of interpreting the VSR through the context of the COVID-19 environment, which disrupted normal driving patterns and police operations. In the last few years, remote work and school changed the composition of drivers and agencies enacted policies to minimize interpersonal contact with motorists, keep jail populations low, and respond to staffing shortages. While patterns of driving and policing

may still be different from 2019, it is now reasonable to interpret the report as conditions under the new normal. In 2025, overall stops and arrests both rose by 12% from 2024, while remaining 6% lower for stops and 25% lower for arrests from 2019 levels. Searches and hit rates (i.e., rate of finding contraband per search) were 11% and 4% higher than in 2024. Searches were still lower than in 2019 by 34%, but hit rates were also down by 36% in 2025 relative to 2019.

In 2025, the agencies filing reports recorded 1,439,086 vehicle stops, resulting in 68,271 searches and 55,600 arrests. Table 1 provides summary data on stops, searches, arrests, and citations, broken out by race and ethnic group; this facilitates comparisons across groups and over time using past reports.² More detailed data on vehicle stops and outcomes of stops are listed in Tables 4 and 5, located at the end of this report.³

² Race and ethnicity are recorded based on officer perception at the time of the vehicle stop.

³ The analysis in the report is based on the aggregated data reported by each agency and transferred from the Attorney General's Office. Thus, it relies on the assumption of accuracy in the reported data in terms of the tallying of stops and resulting outcomes, the distinction between resident and non-resident drivers, etc.

TABLE 1: RATES BY RACE FOR MISSOURI

	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Native American	Asian	Other
Population							
2024 ACS pop.	4975226	3890880	526554	224416	14121	110289	380806
2024 ACS pop. %	100	78.21	10.58	4.51	0.28	2.22	7.65
2020 Decennial pop.	4775612	3723642	514169	197173	18642	104558	217428
2020 Decennial pop. %	100	77.97	10.77	4.13	0.39	2.19	4.55
Totals							
All stops	1439086	1090860	251703	54777	2569	15813	23364
Resident stops	689635	556584	97555	22080	1022	6181	6213
Stops %	100	75.80	17.50	3.80	0.18	1.10	1.62
Searches	68271	49846	13783	3758	94	363	427
Contraband	15414	11856	2768	637	23	63	67
Arrests	55600	36751	14127	3948	82	329	363
Citations	553329	384205	128395	26199	901	6717	6912
Rates							
Stop rate	28.93	28.04	47.8	24.41	18.19	14.34	6.14
Stop rate, residents	13.86	14.3	18.53	9.84	7.24	5.6	1.63
Disparity Index	1	0.97	1.65	0.84	0.63	0.50	0.21
Search rate	4.74	4.57	5.48	6.86	3.66	2.3	1.83
Contraband hit rate	22.58	23.79	20.08	16.95	24.47	17.36	15.69
Arrest rate	3.86	3.37	5.61	7.21	3.19	2.08	1.55
Citation rate	38.45	35.22	51.01	47.83	35.07	42.48	29.58

Notes: The American Community Survey five-year population estimates for ages 16+ as of 2024 are used for Missouri. For comparison, the 2020 Decennial Census population estimates for ages 18+ are also shown in the table. The ACS only provides race-specific Hispanic estimates for White, meaning non-White Hispanic residents are double-counted in the race percentages above.

Stop rate = (stops / 2024 population) X 100.

Stop rate, residents only = (stops by residents / 2024 population) X 100.

Disparity Index = (proportion of stops/proportion of population). A value of 1 indicates no difference between the share of stops and share of local population for a given group. Values greater than one indicate over-representation in the share of stops relative to local population, while a value less than 1 indicates under-representation.

Search rate = (searches / stops) X 100.

Contraband hit rate = (searches with contraband found / total searches) X 100.

Arrest rate = (arrests / stops) X 100.

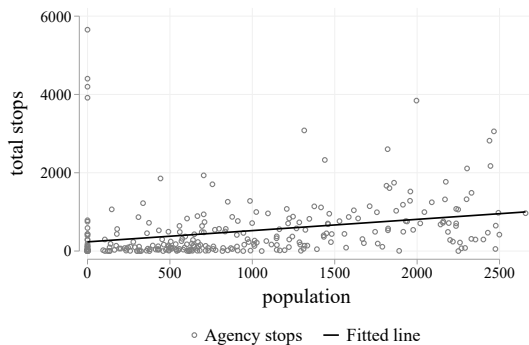
Citation rate = (citations / stops) X 100.

Table 1 lists the number of traffic stops for residents of the community served by a particular agency. Stop rates are therefore calculated for all stops and for the subset of vehicle stops involving only residents. However, because only aggregate data is currently required to be reported by agencies, it is not possible to calculate search rates, arrest rates, etc. for residents, nor is it possible to break down the detailed data in Tables 4 and 5 (below) for residents only. In the future, as more agencies report incident-level data, a more detailed breakdown of data by residence will be feasible. For consistency and ease of exposition, all subsequent discussion of these data refers to total vehicle stops by agencies.

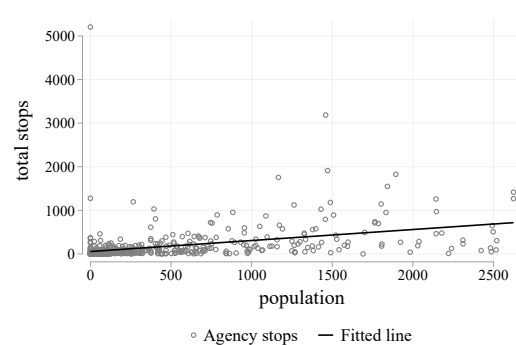
Figure 1 provides more context by comparing traffic stops by agencies to their associated community population for both the total population (left side) and the non-white population (right-side) in each community. For example, the Columbia Police Department is matched to the total and non-white population for the city of Columbia, and so on. Agencies that do not match directly to census geographies, such as university and airport police, are assigned a population of zero.

FIGURE 1: TOTAL STOPS ACROSS AGENCIES FOR MISSOURI

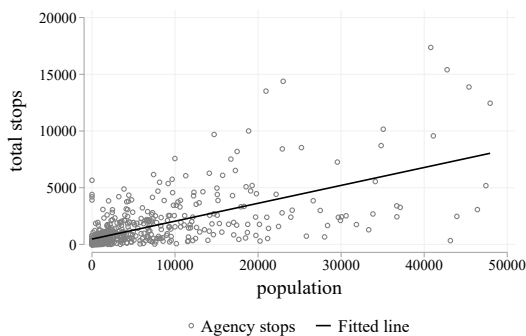
(a) Total stops, pop. below median



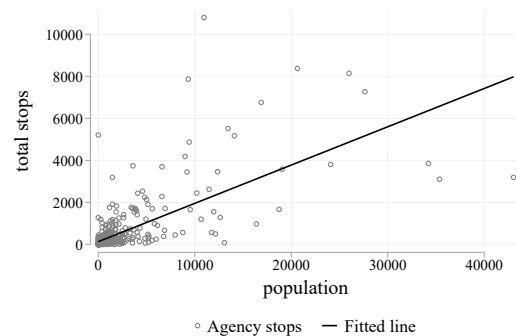
(b) Non-white total stops, pop. below median



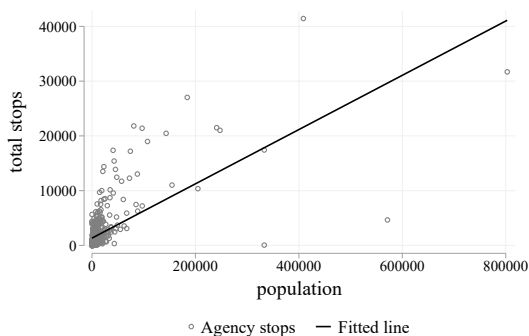
(c) Total stops, pop. below 95th percentile



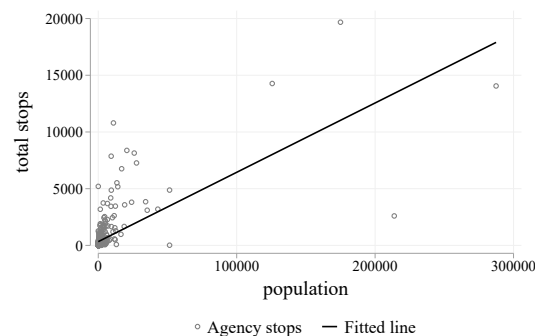
(d) Non-white total stops, pop. below 95th percentile



(e) Total stops, all



(f) Non-white total stops, all



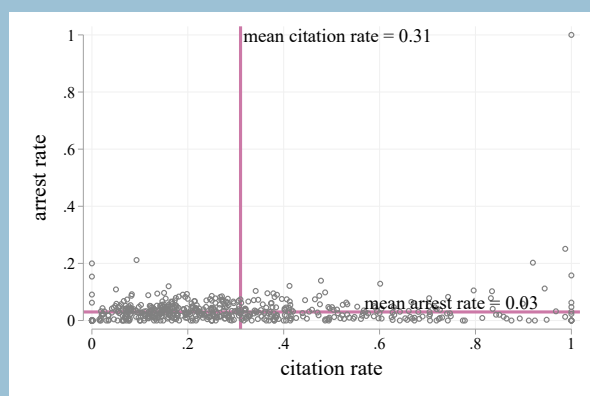
Notes: Figure (a) depicts the total number of stops for all agencies with a total population less than the median population size (2,669.5 persons) in Missouri plotted against population size. Similarly, Figure (b) shows the total number of non-white stops by the non-white population size for each agency for those same agencies. Figures (c) and (d) follow the same format but for agencies with a total population less than the 95th-percentile (49,125 persons). Finally, graphs (e) and (f) graph all agencies, except the Missouri State Highway Patrol, which covers the entire state. Population is measured using the 2025 American Community Survey 5-year estimates for Missouri. The ACS only provides race-specific Hispanic estimates for Whites. To avoid double counting, we calculate the total non-White population as the total population minus the Non-Hispanic White population for each agency. Agencies without population (e.g., university police) are considered to have a population of zero.

The panels in Figure 1 are split across three rows according to community size; this facilitates comparisons across agencies serving similar-size communities. The panels in the first row focus only on agencies serving smaller communities (less than median population, or 2,669.5 persons), while the second row of panels covers agencies serving all but the largest 5% of cities (i.e., communities with less than 49,125 persons) and the last row of panels includes all agencies, except the Missouri State Highway Patrol. Each panel in Figure 1 also includes a “best fit” line that indicates the relationship between stops and population (i.e., the stop rate for the agencies and communities listed in each panel). The agency detailed reports replicate Figure 1 and highlight the location of each agency in this figure, which facilitates comparisons to other agencies.

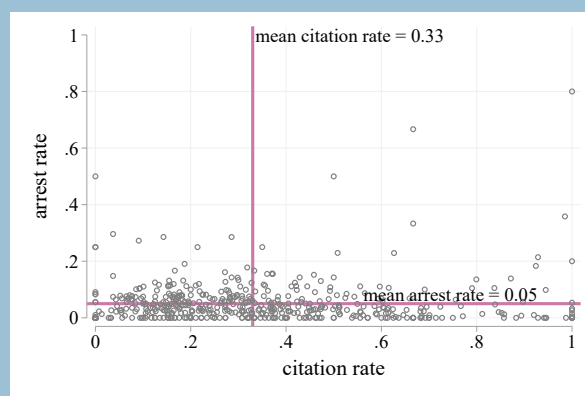
FIGURE 2: CITATION, ARREST, SEARCH AND HIT RATES ACROSS AGENCIES FOR MISSOURI

Figure 2 describes the other outcomes of interest for vehicle stops (i.e., arrests, citations, searches and the discovery of contraband during a search, or “hits”), by the agency. The data are reported as rates, for all stops (left side) and for only stops involving the non-white population (right side).

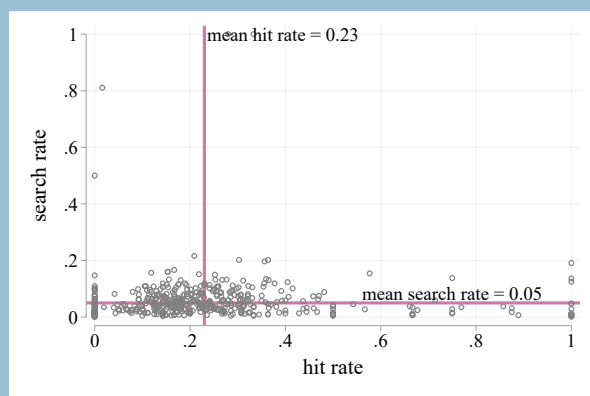
(a) Arrest and citation rate



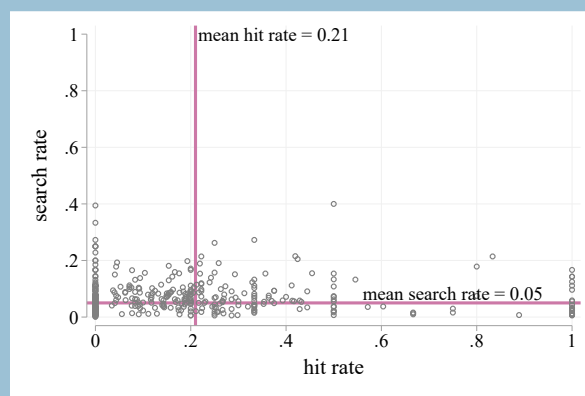
(b) Non-white arrest and citation rate



(c) Search and hit rate



(d) Non-white search and hit rate



Notes: Figure (a) graphs the arrest rate and citation rate for all agencies in Missouri. Similarly, Figure (b) graphs the arrest rate and citation rate for all non-white stops. Figure (c) graphs the search rate and hit rate for all agencies in Missouri. Similarly, Figure (d) graphs the search rate for all non-white stops and hit rate for all non-white searches.

The panels in the first row of Figure 2 show the distribution of agency citation rates and arrest rates per 100 stops compared to the average rates for all agencies. Agencies located in the upper right quadrants of these figures exhibit higher than average arrest and citation rates, while those in the lower left quadrant exhibit lower than average rates for both arrests and citations.

The panels in the second row of Figure 2 describe the search rate per 100 stops and the contraband hit rate per search, as well as the mean for these rates across all agencies.⁴ Agencies in the lower right quadrant conduct relatively fewer searches with higher contraband hit rates. Agencies in the upper left quadrant conduct relatively more searches with fewer contraband hit rates. The agency detail reports replicate Figure 2 and highlight the location of each agency in the figure.

DATA LIMITATIONS FOR COMPARING DIFFERENCES

When comparing these summary metrics across agencies or different population groups, several caveats must be considered. First, driving patterns and composition of the driving communities. Second, traffic enforcement, the frequency of calls to police, and discretionary stops and searches also vary across agencies. Consequently, agencies may exhibit different stop rates or search rates due to the composition of drivers encountered by the agency, the enforcement policies implemented by the agency, or some combination of these and other factors.

For example, traffic stops that are the result of investigative stops or emergency calls may generate higher arrest rates than stops resulting from the enforcement of speed limits. Similarly, an arrest will almost always lead to a search, while searches of motorists during routine traffic stops are likely more rare and highly discretionary. Any comparison of search rates and hit rates must then consider the frequency of discretionary searches. As more agencies report incident-level data, accounting for such distinctions may become possible in subsequent reports.

The same caveats apply when examining variations in traffic stops and resulting outcomes across racial and ethnic groups. Observed differences may result from differential impacts of policing, differential treatment by police, or some combination of these and other factors. Differential treatment refers to bias (unintended or not), whereas differential impact refers to several potential sources of imbalances that are not a direct result of bias on the part of officers conducting vehicle stops. An example of differential impact would be if one population group has more outstanding warrants on average, then that group would have a higher arrest rate not because officers' actions were different with respect to each group, but because the same enforcement action, arresting drivers with outstanding warrants, disproportionately impacts one group more than another. Similarly, existing patterns of residential concentrations by race may result in a differential impact of policing across racial and ethnic groups if officers more intensively patrol some beats due to more calls for service, higher crime rates, or other factors.

The sources of these impacts are themselves of interest and should be considered by policymakers and the public, but they are not the direct result of differential treatment by officers conducting vehicle stops. Consequently, the presence of large or persistent variations is not necessarily an indication of bias in policing. For these reasons, no single metric is capable of identifying or disproving bias in policing. Instead, this data is presented for the purpose of informing a continuing conversation among the public and policymakers regarding differences in traffic stops and outcomes across agencies, as well as differences in these measures across racial and ethnic groups. However, any analysis of such differences must take into consideration that imbalances across population groups may be generated by many factors, including:

- Policing strategies and policies: Law enforcement officials make strategic choices on where and when to police that may disproportionately impact various racial/ethnic groups. Strategies such as concentrating patrols in areas within a city with higher crime rates, could lead to a disproportionate impact if that area has a higher concentration of a racial/ethnic group than the jurisdiction as a whole.
- Differences in *real* rates of offending between racial/ethnic groups: The correlation of dynamics such as economic or social disadvantage with race or ethnicity may lead to differences in rates of real offending. If there are real differences in offending rates, traffic stops should theoretically increase or decrease accordingly.
- Implicit or explicit bias: Implicit bias refers to subconscious or unconscious biases that influence the decisions and perceptions of individuals. Implicit bias can be difficult to detect, even for the individual operating under its influence. Explicit bias refers to conscious bias towards a specific group.
- Incorrect population benchmark: Estimated population characteristics may not accurately measure the racial and ethnic composition of drivers. Further, changes in population demographics may not be fully captured in population estimates.

⁴ Agencies that conduct very few searches will be more likely to cluster at quotients of small values, such as 0, .5, and 1 for the search and hit rates. This effect is particularly noticeable in the non-White search and hit rate charts due to smaller raw counts of searches for this population.

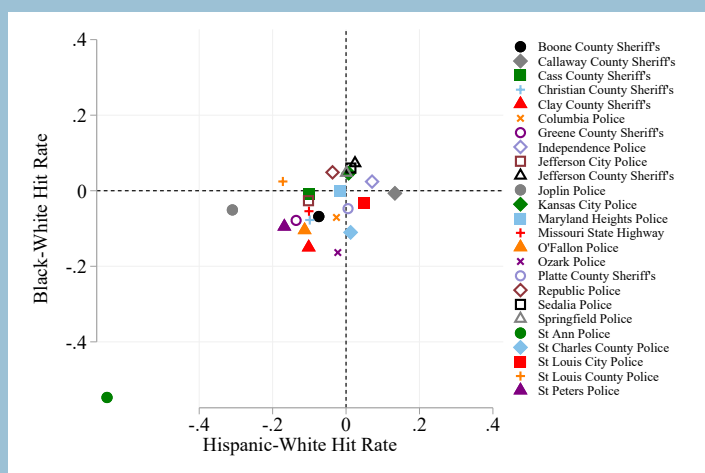
DIFFERENTIAL HIT RATES

In addition to the metrics described in Table 1 above, a frequently employed proxy for bias in searches is the difference in contraband “hit rates” across groups. The logic of comparing hit rates is as follows: i) if discretionary searches are conducted for the purpose of discovering contraband, and ii) police search motorists only when they estimate that the probability of finding contraband exceeds some threshold (e.g., 30%), then unbiased search behavior will result in a hit rate that is equalized across groups, although search rates may vary across groups. For example, if one group is more likely to possess contraband, then unbiased search behavior will lead to a higher search rate for that group, until the probability of finding contraband is equalized across different groups. Consequently, differences in hit rates are an indicator of differential treatment, while differences in search rates are not necessarily an indicator of differential treatment.

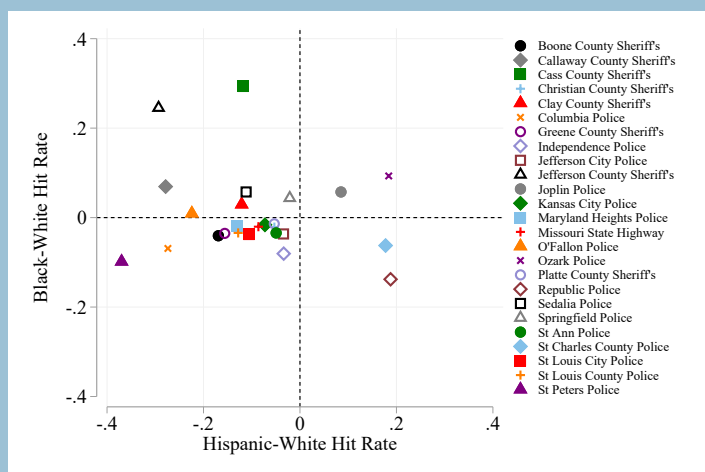
The analytical benefit of differential hit rates is based on the maintained assumption that searches are discretionary. However, this is not always the case. As an example, many agencies have a policy of searching any individual being arrested for obvious reasons of officer safety and investigative integrity. Thus, a high number of arrests might skew the hit rate with non-discretionary searches. The aggregate data reported by most agencies does not allow for any distinction between discretionary and non-discretionary searches, but as more agencies report incident-level data, such a distinction will be feasible. Yet another consideration is that large differences in search rates across groups may be considered problematic even if hit rates are equalized across racial and ethnic groups, since searches are invasive. For this reason, it is useful to consider the frequency of searches alongside hit rates. Finally, because searches are relatively infrequent, a comparison of differential hit rates is not informative unless there are a sufficient number of searches conducted for each population group.

FIGURE 3: RELATIVE HIT RATES FOR THE TOP 25 AGENCIES WITH THE MOST SEARCHES

(a) 2025



(b) 2015



Notes: The race specific hit rate is calculated as the number of searches that find contraband divided by the total number of searches for a specific race. The difference between the Black and White hit rates and the Hispanic and White hit rates are plotted on the y- and x-axis, respectively.

Figure 3 shows the differential hit rates for the 25 largest agencies in the state by the number of searches; the same agencies are shown for two snapshots in time: 2025 (in panel a) and 2015 (in panel b). The data are plotted such that the lower-left quadrant is associated with theoretical “over-searching” the Black and Hispanic population relative to the White population, while the upper-right quadrant is associated with theoretical “over-searching” the White population relative to the Black and Hispanic population. If all searches are discretionary, then unbiased searches would result in all agencies being located at the origin in the figures (0,0). However, deviations from the center are expected, since not all searches are discretionary. Consequently, the location of a given agency in these figures is not necessarily an indication of bias in searches by police, but persistent outliers may warrant further examination.

Looking across the two panels of Figure 3, it is informative to see how agencies have shifted over time. However, we are only showing two snapshots in time, so it may be the result of random variation in the data as opposed to a persistent trend. Future reports will explore patterns in differential hit rates over time and across agencies in more detail. And as more agencies report incident-level data on stops, it will be possible to calculate differential hit rates using only the subset of discretionary searches.

Tables 4 and 5 provide more detailed information on traffic stops, also broken down by race and ethnic group. The agency reports follow the same presentation format as shown here, but exclude the figures showing differential hit rates by community.

TABLE 4: NUMBERS OF STOPS BY RACE FOR MISSOURI

	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Native American	Asian	Other
All Stops	1439086	1090860	251703	54777	2569	15813	23364
Resident Stops	689635	556584	97555	22080	1022	6181	6213
Non-Resident Stops	749451	534276	154148	32697	1547	9632	17151
Reason for Stop	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Moving	781889	597464	126188	32773	1607	11176	12681
Equipment	207870	160442	33836	7939	413	1959	3281
License	479062	350380	103612	14333	578	2912	7247
Investigative	40906	27358	9608	2340	67	392	1141
Called for Service	11559	7624	2876	604	26	104	325
Officer Initiative	24885	16900	5657	1411	39	243	635
Det./Crime Bulletin	1925	1196	543	110	2	13	61
Other	4233	2896	775	381	1	35	145
Stop Outcome	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Searches	68271	49846	13783	3758	94	363	427
Contraband	15414	11856	2768	637	23	63	67
Arrests	55600	36751	14127	3948	82	329	363
Citation	553329	384205	128395	26199	901	6717	6912
Warning	1098032	873822	156442	39037	1937	11680	15114
No action	42794	28542	10591	2277	76	424	884
Citation/warning violation	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Moving	825324	631377	132050	35858	1654	12266	12119
Equipment	279120	216022	45481	11495	449	2633	3040
License/Registration	622418	460181	127775	22640	809	4144	6869
Arrest violation	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Outstanding warrant	21909	12991	7824	815	39	98	142
Drug Violation	6071	4981	923	126	5	11	25
Resist Arrest	1954	1096	712	125	3	10	8
Off Against Person	2371	1770	429	146	5	5	16
Traffic	15545	9090	4427	1777	21	91	139
DWI/BAC	15747	11349	2766	1370	24	167	71
Property	1545	1037	396	103	1	4	4
Other	3303	2102	851	288	4	23	35
Officer Assignment	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
General Patrol	1229195	941264	206474	46236	2257	13561	19403
Dedicated Traffic	166357	118293	35899	6766	255	1782	3362
Special Assignment	42085	31271	7910	1810	42	448	604
Location of Stop	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Interstate hwy	168403	112815	40079	9960	409	3276	1864
US hwy	227776	190472	24468	8602	337	2077	1820
State hwy	339209	280065	40648	10412	544	2954	4586
County road	108934	77831	24891	2210	143	1256	2603
City street	584105	423688	118343	22960	1096	6005	12013
Other	24893	19551	3817	737	32	237	519
Driver Gender	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Male	894175	671636	152722	41594	1796	10611	15816
Female	544653	418873	99090	13239	740	5183	7528
Driver Age	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
17 and under	54429	45682	5266	1586	59	376	1460
18-29	489504	352843	97327	23782	1081	5703	8768
30-39	342927	245293	72166	15341	621	3711	5795
40-64	458911	365257	68176	13299	687	5254	6238
65 and over	91810	80591	8543	765	90	740	1081

Table 4 Note: Data reported by the agency to the Attorney General's Office covering all traffic stops in 2025.

TABLE 5: SEARCH STATISTICS BY RACE FOR MISSOURI

	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Native American	Asian	Other
Probable cause	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Consent	30717	24726	4494	1142	30	134	191
Inventory	6133	3817	1737	501	7	28	43
Drug/alcohol odor	3841	2693	837	250	6	21	34
Incident to arrest	33006	21981	8082	2475	52	227	189
Plain view contra.	2731	1963	589	142	3	16	18
Reas. susp-weapon	1419	735	616	54	2	4	8
Drug-dog alert	3458	2880	414	121	7	11	25
Other	1559	1292	202	48	2	7	8
What searched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Driver	19866	13166	4971	1444	33	136	116
Car/property	11326	8792	1755	575	15	78	111
Driver & Property	36480	27358	6986	1741	45	147	203
Search duration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
0-15 minutes	60294	43311	12750	3442	82	328	381
16-30 minutes	6680	5482	851	261	12	31	43
31+ minutes	891	686	134	58	0	4	9
Contraband found	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drugs	11365	9236	1754	290	15	33	37
Alcohol	3313	2379	560	316	8	29	21
Currency	152	84	50	16	1	0	1
Weapon	1813	935	805	60	3	4	6
Stolen property	482	309	154	16	0	0	3
Other	525	408	77	31	0	4	5

Table 5 Notes: Data reported by the agency to the Attorney General's Office covering all traffic stops in 2025.





Missouri Attorney General's Office

Missouri Attorney General's Office
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